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Papers of the N. Y. Shakespeare Society.
No. 8.

William Shakespeare

AND ALLEGED

SPANISH PROTOTYPES.

BY

ALBERT R. FREY.

Read before the Society January 28th, 1886.

Press of the New York Shakespeare Society.
1886.

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WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

AND

ALLEGED SPANISH PROTOTYPES.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century there flourished in England and Spain two men, whose writings have exerted an extraordinary influence upon their successors even to the present time. The same characters, plots, and places have been utilized by these men in the construction of some of their dramatic productions, and, being contemporaries, an impression may be created that a considerable amount of borrowing—call it plagiarism if you wish—must have been indulged in. It is always an interesting employment to trace the reading of

great writers through the paths of literature, and to reveal the places where they met with a thought which they took the trouble to carry home ; and as Shakespeare has suffered more or less from the imputation of non-originality, it may be important to consider to what extent, if any, he was indebted to Lope de Vega and his school.

As an introduction to this comparison it is best to briefly review the progress of the Spanish drama from the beginning of the sixteenth century to a period corresponding with the Elizabethan age in England, in order to set forth its main characteristics. As in the case of other nationalities, this drama had its origin in those dumb-show representations, which, in course of time, by the addition of dialogue, became what are called Mystery Plays. These were followed in turn by the poetical dialogue of Mingo Revulgo, and by the *Celestina*, a prose play in twenty-one acts, originally called *The Tragicomedy of Calisto and Melibœa.** With the exception of the

* *Conf.* Chaucer, *The Tale of Melibeus.*

afore-mentioned, and the pastoral dialogues of Juan de la Enzina,* which were of a dramatic character, and represented by especial favor in the palace of the Catholic Kings, the Spanish people before the time of the Emperor Charles V., knew nothing of dramatic compositions. In the reign of this monarch we find several different schools of poetry adapted for the stage, the founders and progenitors of which each pursued their own objects without maintaining open conflict with the others.† These may be classified as the erudite, the moral, and the pithy compositions after the pattern of Bartolomè Torres Naharro and Lope de Rueda, which drew large audiences in the squares of Madrid in 1540. Rojas and Jorge de Montemayor, the author of the *Diana*, deserve passing mention at this place, for although rather poets than dramatists, we shall find hereafter that their productions

* He died in 1534. Six editions at least of his collected works were published between 1496 and 1516; showing that, for the period in which he lived, he enjoyed a remarkable degree of popularity.—TICKNOR.

† *Conf.* Bouterwek. (ii. 102 *infra.*)

contain certain incidents identical with some in Shakespeare. To all these men, the immediate predecessors of Cervantes and Lope de Vega, the latter are indebted to a considerable extent, and should properly only be considered as perfecters of the style which they introduced.

We now arrive at that period in which the dramatic literature of Spain attained its highest level, to-wit, during the conclusion of the reign of Charles of Austria, and under the sovereignties of the three Philips, his successors. The former monarch, the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, succeeded in uniting the two provinces of Arragon and Castile; and, this having been accomplished, it was no great task for Francis I. to incite the ambitious ruler to employ his Spanish forces in the conquest of Italian soil. This intercourse of nationalities speedily asserted itself in the prevalence of imitations of Italian forms throughout Western Europe, the literature of Spain in general approximating as closely to the Italian as its necessary connec-

tions with the national style would permit. Garcilaso de la Vega and Boscan introduced the new style; the former in his lyrics, and the latter in his pastorals. That the succeeding dramatists, with such examples before them, should imitate and copy the same, is natural enough. But not only for this reason is the Italian influence alluded to at this place; its importance is manifest when we consider its prevalence in those English plays which were soon to be given to the world by Marlowe, Peele, Dekker and Shakespeare.

Such then, was the drama of Spain, when "the prodigy of nature," as Cervantes calls him, "the great Lope de Vega appeared,* who assumed the diadem of comedy and placed beneath his jurisdiction the players of his day." Another writer says, † "he was

* "He united in his own person every endowment which constitutes a great poet, and from his childhood showed promise of his future excellence." In his *El Arte Nuevo*, speaking of the novelty which Virues introduced into his comedies, he says, "and I wrote the same at eleven and twelve years of age."

† Bouterwek.

born for dramatic poetry. In every other class of composition he was merely an accurate imitator, or if he struck out a new course, it was in so imperfect a way, that his example was injurious to the course of literature. But if, as a dramatic poet, he did not create the Spanish comedy, properly so called, his inexhaustible fancy and the fascinating ease of his animated composition impressed upon it that character by which it has since been distinguished. All subsequent Spanish dramatic poets trod in the footsteps of Lope de Vega, until genius was banished from the sphere it occupied by the introduction of the French taste in Spain." His life, nevertheless, was not a path of roses. Notwithstanding the orthodoxy of his plays, they were temporarily prohibited; and it was fortunate that Philip the Second referred the question as to their morality to the University of Salamanca, who decided in favor of the stage. Several of his dramas will be discussed hereafter, so we shall leave Lope for the present, and attempt to determine the condition and influence of Spanish literature in England during this period.

The English play-wrights of the latter portion of the sixteenth century borrowed from and imitated the writers of Southern Europe to a considerable extent. Stephen Gosson, in his *Plaies Confuted in fiue Actions* (1581), in reply to Lodge, says, "I may boldly say it, because I have seen it, that *The Palace of Pleasure*, *The Golden Ass*, *The Aethiopian History*, *Amadis of France*, *and the Round Table*, bawdy comedies in Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, have been thoroughly ransacked to furnish the playhouses in London." Schack* cites a long list of dramas by Beaumont and Fletcher, the plots of which are analogous to Spanish plays by Lope and others, and Drake, in his *Shakespeare and his Times* † endeavors to find a parallel between a passage in the first part of *King Henry* IV., and the barber's eulogium in *Don Quixote*. But Schack himself admits that none of the plays of Shakespeare's contemporaries can be said to be appropriated directly from the Spanish,

* *Geschichte der Spanischen Literatur*, (ii., 53, 54.)
† I. 570.

as this practice does not take place until the time of Charles II.

In all the dramas which this German critic enumerates, we can recognize a plot furnished by Italy, but it is left to Spain to embellish the story by dramatic movement, rogueries, nocturnal adventures, and disguises. The active life, so to speak, comes from the South, but the national genius of the North adds its native profundity, its analysis, and its reflection. But although this adaptation of both prose-fiction and poetry was not uncommon in England, excellent reasons can be adduced to prove that it was also, in a certain measure, practised in Spain, and even Lope has been accused of availing himself of English plots. Spain and England, it must be remembered, were fighting fiercely against each other during this period. Lope himself took part in the international strife, and he lost his brother when the Armada was dispersed. The defeat of this Spanish squadron was commemorated by Charles Fitzgeffrey his poem, *The Life and Death of Sir*

Francis Drake (1596); and when, in the following year, Lope published a seeming reply, entitled *La Dragontea*, we are not surprised to find it abusing Queen Elizabeth and belittling Drake's achievements, the latter being introduced "as the tool of Satan, in order that he may finally serve as an example of poetic justice."* Karl Elze has called attention† to the similarity between Lope's *Arcadia* and Sir Philip Sidney's pastoral of the same name, and between his *Donzella Teodor* and Greene's *Fryer Bacon*. These parallelisms are seemingly rendered more perfect through a want of literal exactness of the portions borrowed, although the essential significance of the thought is preserved. But in justice to Lope we will say that he could not have availed himself of Sidney's romance, as the latter was not composed until 1598, and we

* *Conf.* also Schack (Vol. II). He quotes, to evince the bitter feeling existing in Lope's mind, his *Ode al Armamento de Felipe II. contra Inglaterra von Gongorra*, and his *Corona Tragica*, in which Mary Stuart is made a martyr of the Catholic religion.

† *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft* (vi. 350).

have trustworthy evidence that Lope began his fully ten years earlier.* If he pilfered it at all, it was from Cervantes, from which author he also unscrupulously adapted his *Cautivos de Argel.*† As to Greene, it is true that the *Donzella Teodor* resembles *Fryer Bacon*, but it is greatly inferior to the latter, and affords a good example of how Lope "seized on the stories current in his time, and turned them to dramatic account." It was probably taken from a popular Spanish tale of the fifteenth century‡, and Greene may have had access to the same story, as we know that he had made a voyage to Spain and Italy before 1583§, and did not publish his *Fryer Bacon* until 1594.

Moreover, it is very doubtful whether Lope was at all acquainted with the English language. England was the country of the here-

* Klein, *Geschichte des Dramas* (ix., 535).

† Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature* (ii. 237 *infra.*).

‡ Ticknor (ii. 236).

§ Simpson, *The School of Shakespeare* (ii. 343). Greene's Works, edited by Dyce, 1831 (i.).

tics, and its literature was carefully guarded from the good Catholics of Spain by their priests and confessors. According to Velasquez, no Spanish translation of any English work had appeared up to the year 1754, hence we may assume that the literature of England exerted no influence upon Spanish tastes and habits until about a century after Lope de Vega's time.

Coming now to Shakespeare himself, an important question arises: Was he acquainted with Spanish? To this query we may also safely reply in the negative, as this language was very little studied in England at the time. Not until 1590 appeared John Thorin's English translation of a Spanish grammar with a brief dictionary combined, and in the following year a similar work by Richard Perceval.* "Considering the prominent political and commercial position of Spain in the sixteenth century," says Professor Marsh†, "the importance of her literature, and the extent to

* *Conf.* Warton, *History of English Poetry* (iv. 335).
† *Lectures on the English Language.*

which it was then cultivated in England, it is surprising that so few English words can be referred to a Spanish origin. Sidney,* and other writers of that day, who imitated the poetic forms of Spain, borrowed nothing from her vocabulary, and even the dialect of navigation and commerce has adopted few Spanish words which were not originally either Arabic or American." The Spanish words and expressions in the plays of Shakespeare can be counted upon the fingers of one hand, and they are either corruptions,† or, (in two instances) caricatures of Spanish celebrities.‡

The plays whose histories we shall now have to consider, are seven in number, to wit: —the comedies, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Twelfth Night*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*,

* Sidney translated several of the shorter poems in Montemayor's *Diana*.

† *Conf.* J A. Harrison on Shakespeare's use of foreign languages in *Shakespeariana* (i. 149).

‡ Don Armado, in *Love's Labor Lost* is a caricature on the absurdities of the *Cultissino*, or Spanish euphuism, and Elze conjectures that the name is intended to ridicule the Armada (*Jahrbuch*, x. 122). In *Pericles*, (iv. i), we find "the great pirate Valdes," and Pedro Valdes was the name of a Spanish admiral captured by Drake.

As You Like It, *The Winter's Tale*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, and the tragedy, *Romeo and Juliet*. Klein, in his *Geschichte des Spanischen Dramas*, has endeavored to show the adaptation from Spanish sources of several of these plays, and the remainder have been described by various authors as imitations of Lope de Vega, Francisco de Rojas, etc. One of the earliest written of the above comedies is probably *All's Well that Ends Well*, and perhaps it scarcely deserves a place among the disputed ones, for only a slight similarity occurs between it and Lope's *La Hermosura Aborrecida*.* Klein, who has called attention to this fact, nevertheless admits that Shakespeare must have been acquainted with Bernardo Accolti's comedy *Virginia*. The latter

*For analysis of Lope's play see Klein (x. 155). The incident of the wife taking her rival's place in her husband's bed will also be found in a Spanish romance, the argument of which reads: "Romance del engaño, que usó la reina doña Maria de Aragon, para qué el rey don Pedro su marido durmiese con ella," in Ferdinand Wolf's *Ueber eine Sammlung Spanischer Romanzen in fliegenden Blättern* (Wien, 1850, fol 52, *infra*), and also in his *Rosa de Romances* (Leipzig, 1846, fol. 14, *infra*).

was published at Florence in 1513, and again at Venice in 1535. His heroine, Virginia, corresponds with Shakespeare's Helena. Her father, called in the English play, Gerhard, is named Hippocrate by Accolti: a strong point in favor of the theory that the Italian author derived the material for his comedy from Boccaccio (novel 9, third day), in whose tale the parent is a physician. The plot in general, and the names of the other characters substantiate this assumption. Lope derived his play from either of the above, having become acquainted with them through the Italian influence on Spanish literature heretofore alluded to. Shakespeare, however, is not indebted to Lope's work at all, but adapts it from a translation in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*. This collection of romances was published in 1567, and again in 1575, hence an English version was in existence when Lope was about five years old. To prove how closely Shakespeare followed this work, it is only necessary to describe the argument, which reads as follows:

Giletta, a physician's doughter of Narbon, healed the Frenche Kyng of a Fistula, for reward wherof she demaunded Beltramo, Counte of Rossiglione, to husbande. The Counte, beyng maried againste his will, for despite fled to Florence, and loved another. Giletta, his wife, by pollicie founde meanes to lye with her husbande, in place of his lover, and was begotten with child of twoo soonnes: whiche, knowen to her husbande, he received her againe, and afterwardes she lived in greate honor and felicitie.

The comic scenes in the play are all original with Shakespeare, as are also the characters of Lafeu, Parolles, and the Clown.

The Two Gentlemen of Verona would appear to be *the first production of Shakespeare*, for although we have no earlier printed edition of it than the one in the folio of 1623, it is mentioned by Meres in his *Palladis Tamia* (1598), and it will hereafter be shown that the date of its composition is probably as early as 1583. The latter fact is very important, for the following reasons: In 1598 was printed for the first time in English, the *Diana* of Jorge de Montemayor, translated from the Spanish by Bartholomew Yonge.* The latter

* It had appeared in Spanish as early as 1542.

has fixed very precisely the period when he was engaged in this translation, to wit :

About nineteene yeares past, curteous Gentlemen, comming out of Spaine, into my natiue countrey, and hauing spent wellny three yeares in some serious studies and certaine affaires, with no meanes or occasion to exercise the Spanish toong, by discontinuance whereof it had almost shaken hands with me, it was my good hap to fall into the companie and acquaintance of my especiall good friend, *Edward Banister of Idesworth, in the countie of Southampton, Esq.*, who perceiving my remisseness in the said language, perswaded and encouraged me earnestly, by some good translation to recal it to her former place: And to that intent he gave me the First and Second Part of *Diana of Montemayor*, in Spanish, which Booke, although I had been two yeeres in Spaine, till then I neither saw nor heard of; whose friendly care and desire to prevent so great a losse, and to preserue such an ornament in me, I confesse was the chiefe and principall cause, and therefore the onely credit of this translation, whereby I recouered that toong again, that lay, as it were, smothered in the cinders of oblivion. The second cause of this my labour was the delight I passed in discurring most of those towns and places in it, with a pleasant recordation of my pen, which mine eies so often with joy and sorrow had beheld. The third, the resolued then intent I had neuer, howsoeuer now it hath escaped my hands, to put it in print, in proofe whereof it hath lyen by me finished Horace's ten, and sixe yeares more. For till then I neuer tried my vnproper vaine in making an English verse.*

It would thus appear that Yonge began his work somewhere between 1580 and 1585. He further observes:—

Well might I haue excused these paines, if onely *Ed-*

* *Vid.* Brydges, *Restituta* (i. 501).

ward Paston, *Esquier*, who heere and there for his own pleasure, as I understand, hath aptly turned out of Spanish into English some leaues that liked him best, had also made an absolute and complete Translation of all the Parts of *Diana*; the which, for his trauell in that countrey, and great knowledge in that language, accompanied with other learned and good parts in him, had of all others, that euer I heard translate these Bookes, prooued the rarest and worthiest to be embraced.

Portions of Montemayor's work were also translated by Sir Philip Sydney,* and still another version of the tale may be found in *The History of Felix and Philomena shewed and enacted before her highnes by her Ma^tes^, servaunts on the sondaie next after neweyeares daie, at night at Grenewiche, whereon was ymploied one battlement and a house of canvas.* (1584). † Finally, there existed among the manuscripts in the library of the Earl of Denbigh at the close of the seventeenth century a translation of the first part of the *Diana*, made by Thomas Wilson in 1596, ‡ to which

*Steevens conjectures that some of the incidents in Shakespeare's play were taken from the *Arcadia*, (I., vi.), where Pyrocles consents to lead the Helots; but the amount of the dramatist's obligations to this source does not appear to be considerable.

† *Vid.* Cunningham, *Revels at Court* (p. 189).

‡ Farmer and Mrs. Lenox.

is prefixed a dedication to Shakespeare's Earl of Southampton, who was at the time on a Spanish voyage with the Earl of Essex.

Montemayor's play was very popular in Spain towards the end of the sixteenth century, and it is true, moreover, that the story of Felismena exhibits several incidents and expressions in common with *The Two Gentlemen of Verona.* The *Diana* received the praise of Cervantes, who says, "I am of opinion we ought not to burn it, but only take out that part of it which treats of the magician Felicia and the enchanted water, as also all the longer poems, and let the work escape with its prose and the honor of being the first in that kind."* But in the face of its popularity and its resemblances, we cannot agree with Simrock† in asserting that Shakespeare utilized the *Diana* in the construction of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, for the following reasons:

In the first place, the assumption of male

**Don Quixote*, (i. 6).

† *Die Quellen des Shakespeare*, 2e *Aufl.* (ii. 154).

attire by Julia cannot be held as conclusive evidence that the play is of Spanish origin, by any means. Carriere* asserts that this circumstance is indicative of a Spanish motive, but he seems to forget that the incident is far more in imitation of the Italian. The Julia of Bandello and of Porto follows her Romeo in this garb, and as to Rosalind, she may be considered most decidedly of English origin, as we shall see hereafter. In alluding to *Romeo and Juliet* it may be mentioned at this place how Shakespeare seems to station his Julias and Juliets in Verona. He appears to have thought that this place was the only one in the world best adapted for their comical and tragical stories and adventures. Yes, more than this; does not the nurse of Juliet appear to be the Lucetta of this comedy, grown only a little older? And when Valentine soliloquizes upon his banishment are we not forcibly reminded of Juliet's comments on Romeo's banishment, and of Romeo's words?

**Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, (vi. 367).

For exile hath more terror in his look,
Much more than death.

Furthermore, as if to corroborate the Italian origin of the comedy, are we not on the road to Mantua in both plays, and does not the error in the first folio, of Padua for Milan, (ii. 5.) seem to refer to some scene in an original novel, from which our author transcribed incorrectly, that is, if he borrowed at all?

And this query brings us to our second reason against believing that *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* is borrowed from the Spanish. Nay, more, why must it come from the Italian? Why should it not be an original creation of William Shakespeare? The date would certainly argue in favor of such an assumption. Meres, we have seen, mentions it in 1598. Malone originally assigned it to the year 1595, being induced thereto by the following lines: (i. 3.)

He wonder'd that your lordship
Would suffer him to spend his youth at home;
While other men, of slender reputation,
Put forth their sons to seek preferment out;
Some, to the wars, to try their fortune there;
Some, to discover islands far away.

"Shakespeare," adds this commentator, "as has been often observed, gives to almost every country the manners of his own; and though the speaker is here a Veronese, the poet, when he wrote the last two lines, was thinking of England, where voyages, for the purpose of *discovering islands far away*, were at this time much prosecuted."

Furnivall considers the date of its composition to be 1590 or 1591, and Knight surmises that it was written between 1585 and 1591. But why should it not have been executed even before that time? It is indisputably one of the earliest productions of Shakespeare, for the *dénouement* (Act v.) is a crude piece of work, the actions of the principal characters are very unreal, and doggerel verses abound in it. Why should not the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* be simply a rewritten version of *The History of Felix and Philomena*, which we have referred to above? We can imagine the young poet at Stratford, his mind filled with the stories of love and intrigue which he had read in such books as found their way to his

native town; he attempts a similar work, which is sent to the great city, *and is acted before the queen at Greenwich*, with its rude scenery of "one battlement and a house of canvas." May it not have been the success of this representation that induced Shakespeare to leave Stratford for London shortly afterwards? The play itself is unfortunately lost, and the only remaining account of it which has been handed down to us is the brief notice heretofore alluded to. If we accept this theory we will have no confliction of dates and incidents; it is the initial workmanship of a dawning genius, a genius who had not yet studied the style of his predecessors and the productions of his contemporaries. The original meagre production undoubtedly received additions from its author's hands, a conjecture which would well agree with what we know to have been the dramatic usage of the time.

But there is another one of these comedies which deserves to be criticised at this place, because many of its incidents are closely in-

terwoven with *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, although the drama is evidently of much later date. This is the play of *Twelfth Night*, which is said by some authorities to be founded on the anonymous comedy *La Española el Florencia*. In the *Comedias nuevas escogidas*, (1659), it is ascribed to Calderon, a fact which would settle the dispute, did not Barrera deny that he is the author. Rivadeneyra ascribes it to Lope de Vega, under the title of *Burlas Veras*, while Chorley, in a manuscript note in his *Catdlogo*, states that it is not written in Lope's style and cannot be his. In *Los Engaños*, or *The Frauds*, a comedy by Lope de Rueda, there is a tale of a daughter of Verginio, who has escaped from a convent where she was to be educated, and who serves as a page to Marcelo. The latter, formerly her lover, had deserted her, because he believed himself to have been ill-treated. Clavela, the lady to whom Marcelo now devotes himself, falls in love with his page, somewhat as Olivia does, and this occasions several effective scenes and inci-

dents.* It is on this slender foundation that the critics favoring the claims of Spain have based their assertions. But why the question should have arisen at all is difficult to surmise, as any student of Shakespeare who possesses an ordinary amount of common sense can see the plot in Barnaby Rich, and trace it from him to Bandello.

In a little manuscript diary kept by one John Manningham, a student at the Middle Temple, is recorded the following interesting notice under the date of February 2, 1601–2:

> At our feast, wee had a play called Twelve Night, or What You Will. Much like the Comedy of Errors, or Menechmi in Plautus; but most like and neere to that in Italian called Inganni. A good practice in it to make the Steward beleeve his lady widdowe was in love with him, by counterfayting a letter as from his lady in generall termes, telling him what she liked best in him, and prescribing his gesture in smiling, his apparaile, &c., and then when he came to practise, making him beleeve they took him to be mad, &c.

This important memorandum was first pointed out by Mr. Collier,† and it establishes beyond a doubt that *Twelfth Night* was

*Ticknor ii. 48. Lope de Rueda flourished between 1544 and 1567. He is referred to as being dead in the latter year.

†*Annals of the Stage* (i., 327).

written before February, 1601–2, and as Meres does not mention it in 1598, it may safely be assigned to some time between these two dates. 1599 appears to be the year which claims the play, as the lines concerning Linschoten's maps (iii., 2) point to 1598, and the argument in Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*, which was performed in 1599, would only be effective if made to refer to a new play.

It is a somewhat singular fact that the Italian play referred to by Manningham should have but little resemblance to *Twelfth Night*. Hunter* discovered another play, *Gl'Ingannati*, which, it is true, contains all the serious portions of the comedy, but its story was no doubt derived from Bandello. Shakespeare was probably indebted for the tale of the loves of Olivia and Viola to Barnaby Rich, whose *Farewell to Militarie Profession* was published at London in 1581. But excepting this incident, the comedy bears the strongest traces of originality of any that we

* *New Illustrations* (i., 391).

possess. "In both the Italian dramas," as Collier observes, "the comical portion is of the most homely and vulgar materials, by the intervention of empirics, braggarts, pedants and servants, who deal in the coarsest jokes, and are guilty of the grossest buffoonery." Sir Toby Belch, Sir Andrew Ague-cheek, and Malvolio in especial, are characters solely the creation of Shakespeare. Sir Andrew, sententious fool though he be, is no doubt intended as a caricature of some contemporary of the author, or perhaps as a type of the Puritan party in the Reformed Church of England.* His soliloquy (ii., 5) bears a strong resemblance, as Tyrrwhitt observes, to the story of Alnaschar in *The Arabian Nights.*

Three comedies now remain, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *As You Like It*, and *The Winter's Tale.* Why the first of these should ever have been imputed to the Spaniards is difficult to imagine. The induction is plainly of Oriental origin, as it is the eastern tale of

* *New Illustrations* (i., 379).

Abou Hassan, and is repeated by Marco Polo* and by Ludovico Vives.† Lastly it appears in English in 1570 in a collection of short comic stories in prose, "sett forthby Richard Edwardes, mayster of her Maiesties reuels," a work deemed lost for a considerable period of time, until Warton‡ declared that he had read it in the library of his friend William Collins Ticknor,§ in discussing the *Viage Etretenido* by Augustin de Rojas, states:

> In some parts of it, we have sketches of the places they (*i. e.* the strolling players) visit, with notices of the local history belonging to each. * * * In others, we have fictions, or, what seem to be such, and among them the story on which Shakespeare founded his Christopher Sly and the Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew.*

But a little further on Ticknor asserts that "from internal evidence *The Amusing Journey* (*i. e.* the *Viage*) was written in 1602," and as we possess indisputable proofs that *The Taming of the Shrew* was written before 1600,

* *De tyranno quodam insigni et sicarijs ejus* (Lib. i., cap. 28).

† *Epistolarum quæ hactenus desiderabantur Farrago.* Antwerpiæ, MDLVI. (fol. 256 *et infra.*)

‡ *History of English Poetry* (cap. lii).

§ *History of Spanish Literature* (iii., 212).

the idea of connecting the two works is ridiculous. As to the play itself, the only similarity that can be found between it and any Spanish drama, is in Lope's *El Caballero de Olmedo*, which contains the schoolmaster incident (iii. 1.). However, as this is only fragmentary, and moreover a scene that might have occurred to almost any writer of stage plays, it can be safely dismissed as not belonging to the subject under discussion at all.

As You Like It bears a considerable resemblance to Lope's *Los Flores de Don Juan*, but as Klein,* who cannot find words to bestow sufficient praise upon his ideal author, admits that Lope probably followed a Spanish version of *The Coke's Tale of Gamelyn*, to which poem Shakespeare is more or less indebted for his plot, this comedy likewise falls from our list altogether. It should be observed, however, that Klein, curiously enough, grants that the scene in which Lope's hero demands those rights and privileges of his elder brother that belong to him, is dull

* *Geschichte des Spanischen Dramas* (iii. 106).

and tame as compared with the magnificent dialogue between Orlando and Oliver ; and, he adds, it seems odd that the son of an English gentleman must teach a Spanish *caballero* who is unjustly treated, how to talk and act.

The Winters's Tale has been compared to Lope's *El Marmol de Felisardo*, but everybody knows that Shakespeare borrowed his materials for it from the old novel *Pandosto, the Triumph of Time*, by Robert Greene, which was published in 1588, and continued a favorite with the public for upwards of two centuries under the title of *The Pleasant History of Dorastes and Fawnia.* Schack* asserts that Greene's tale is undoubtedly copied from some older work, which Lope also imitated. Ben Jonson, in his *Conversations with William Drummond, of Hawthornden*, recounts an absurdity in *The Winter's Tale*, where "Shakespear brought in a number of men saying they had suffered shipwrack in Bohemia, wher ther is no sea neer by some one hundred miles." We mention this incident because in

* ii. 338.

Animal de Ungria, another play by Lope de Vega, the same thing occurs. Both poets probably knew better, but, while in Shakespeare the error is evidently attributable to carelessness, Bohemia being mentioned in *Pandosto* as a maritime country, in Lope it appears to be a deliberated circumstance, as anybody who studies his works is aware of the extent to which he sacrificed dramatic probabilities, history, chronology and geography.

We have reserved *Romeo and Juliet* for the last place, because the most ingenuous and lengthy arguments have been brought forward to ascribe its adaptation by Shakespeare from Lope de Vega. The accuser is Klein,* who declares that the English dramatist very probably derived materials from the *Castelvines y Monteses*, the latter play being ascribed to Lope as having been written before 1603.† The simplest method of replying to Klein is

* (iii. 345, *infra*.)

† Lope's play has been translated into English by F. W. Cosens, 1870 (150 copies only printed). It is entitled a *Tragi-Comedia*, because, unlike Shakespeare, the Spanish dramatist gives to it a happy termination.

by a comparison of the disputed passages, but before attempting this, a short notice of the Italian sources may not be out of place. Girolamo della Corte, in his *Storia di Verona*, (1594) relates the story as having actually occurred in 1303. Luigi da Porto, in his *La Giulietta* (*circa* 1530), is the earliest to call the lovers Romeo and Juliet, and to make them the children of two houses at variance with one another. Porto gives as his authority a Veronese archer, who asserted that the events took place in the time of Bartolommeo della scala (the Escalus of Shakespeare). Bandello has the story in his *Novelle* (1554), and shortly afterwards (1562) the earliest English version appears. This is a poem entitled, *The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Iuliet, written first in Italian by Bandell, and nowe in Englishe by Ar.* [*thur*] *Br.* [*ooke*]. Painter, in his *Palace of Pleasure* (1567), also gives a prose version of the tale. Shakespeare was acquainted with both of these works, and utilized them jointly in the construction of his drama, as will be seen

hereafter. Brooke, however, in his preface, says: "I saw the same argument lately set foorth on stage with more commendation then I can looke for; (being there much better set forth than I haue or can dooe); yet the same matter, penned as it is, may serue to lyke good effect, if the readers do brynge with them lyke goode myndes to consider it, which hath the more incouraged me to publishe it, such as it is." There was, consequently, a play on this subject more than a quarter of a century before the appearance of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, but it appears to have been lost altogether. Malone has instituted a comparison between the drama of Shakespeare and the poem of Brooke, with the following result.

1. In the poem the Prince of Verona is called Escalus; so also in the play. In Painter's translation from Boisteau he is named Signor Escala, and sometimes Lord Bartholomew of Escala.

2. In Painter's novel the family of Romeo

are called the Montesches; in the poem and in the play, the Montagues.

3. The messenger employed by friar Lawrence to carry a letter to Romeo is in Painter's translation called Anselme; in the poem and in the play, friar John is employed in this business.

4. The circumstance of Capulet's writing down the names of the guests whom he invites to supper is found in the poem and in the play, but is not mentioned by Painter, nor is it found in the original Italian novel.

5. The residence of the Capulets, in the original and in Painter, is called Villa Franca; in the poem and in the play, Freetown.

6. Several passages of *Romeo and Juliet* appear to have been formed on hints furnished by the poem, of which no traces are found either in Painter's novel, or in Boisteau, or in the original; and several expressions are borrowed from thence.

To supplement these coincidences, Mr. P. A. Daniel has compared every scene of the drama with such passages in Brooke as evince a similar sentiment or idea.* His purpose in instituting this comparison is to show how much more the poem was utilized by Shakespeare than the novel, and in this he has admirably succeeded. But as the discussion of the English sources of Shakespeare's plays is foreign to our purpose we will now pass directly to the Spanish claimant, where we have seven questions to answer by the parallel-column test, as follows :

*Published for the New Shakespeare Society. The lines quoted by the writer from Brooke and Painter refer to this edition.

These, then, are our replies to the accusers. The question of plagiarism or non-originality is one, in the handling of which, we cannot be too precise. In the republic of letters may not a good thing once uttered be considered the property of all mankind? Do we think less of Rogers because we find parallels between his poem *Human Life* and Milton's *Paradise Lost?* Or of Milton, because he, in his turn, borrowed from Cowley? The stories of the Trojan war, of the conspiracy of Brutus, and of Antony and Cleopatra, are not copyrighted. Addison has observed that "were all books reduced to their quintesscence, many a bulky author would make his appearance in a penny pamphlet; and there would be scarce any such thing as a folio; the works of an age would be contained on a few shelves, not to mention millions of volumes that would be utterly destroyed." And this maxim may be applied to the works of Shakespeare. He read the plots in the English fiction and poetry of his time, but from his hands they emerged, purged of their

crudities and beautified to an extent in which no author either before or after him has been his equal. The Spanish drama, and that portion of it written by Lope in particular, was defective; the unities of time and place were not observed, and historical facts were perverted for the purpose of adaptation. Lope, says one writer, "often puts in the mouths of shepherds or common and illiterate people expressions that are not correspondent with their station, merely for the purpose of displaying his erudition." But these anachronisms and blunders are of rare occurrence in Shakespeare's works. The majority of his characters are of a type such as we would be apt to meet upon the street almost every day in our lives They are natural, and not, like those of Lope and his school, such as would populate the world did euphuism flourish, and an artificial state of society exist. And, moreover, such pathetic tenderness, such examples of love, foregiveness, fidelity, and virtue, as Shakespeare has delineated, are not to be met with in the Spanish literature of

that period. Would he then find it necessary to copy from such unfaithful forms? Would he derive any benefit by imitating such unrealistic prototypes? Most assuredly not! And lastly, as William Shakespeare is to us the synonym of all that is great and noble in literature, we cannot imagine him guilty of an act which the author of *Festus* thus describes:

> Some steal a thought,
> And clip it round the edge, and challenge him
> Whose 'twas to swear to it. To serve things thus,
> Is as foul witches to cut up old moons
> Into new stars,

"In brief, sir, study what you most affect."

Taming of The Shrew, I. 1.

THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY

OF NEW YORK.

(INCORPORATED APRIL 20TH, 1885.)

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